

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 EB-07 TRSE-00

OMB-01 COME-00 FEA-01 OFA-01 /095 W  
----- 013914

R 110930Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1529

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC, HONOLULU, HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 9351

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, 74

SUBJ: MIKI VISIT PAPER: TOKYO, PEKING AND MOSCOW

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

1. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TOKYO, PEKING, MOSCOW DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS HAVE FLUNDERED AROUND THE ISSUE OF HOW OPPOSITION TO "HEGEMONY" IS TO BE HANDLED IN A SINO-JAPANESE PEACE AND FREINDSHIP TREATY. THOUGH THEN-PRIME MINISTER TANAKA HAD APPROVED A CLAUSE OPPOSING HEGEMONY IN THE 1972 COMMUNIQUE ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, THE MIKI CABINET HAS RESISTED INCLUDING IT IN THE BODY OF A FORMAL TREATY. THE CLAUSE HAS COME TO BE INTERPRETED AS A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF CHINESE APPREHENSION OVER PRESUMED USSR AMBITIONS IN ASIA, AND THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO OFFEND THE SOVIETS NEEDLESSLY BY MAKING IT AN OPERATIVE ARTICLE OF A BINDING LEGAL DOCUMENT. WHEN THE ISSUE LEAKED INTO PUBLIC VIEW LAST FEBRUARY THE SOVIETS LOUDLY ATTACKED BOTH THE CLAUSE AND THE TREATY, THEREBY INSURING CONTINUED CHINESE INSISTENCE  
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ON HAVING THE CLAUSE IN THE TREATY AND INTENSIFYING JAPANESE APPREHENSION OVER THE CONSDQUENCES OF INCLUDING IT. HAVING PLEDGED TO CONCLUDE A PEACE AND FREINDSHIP TREATY WITH CHINA WHEN HE TOOK OFFICE, HOWEVER, PRIME MINISTER MIKI FELT UNDER

PRESSURE TO COMPROMISE AND OFFERED IN MAY TO INCLUDE THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE TREATY BUT NOT THE OPERATIVE PORTION. THE CHINESE REFUSED AND NEGOTIATIONS STALLED. MEANWHILE MOSCOW, MISTAKENLY WORRIED THAT THE TALKS WERE BACK ON TRACK AGAIN, PUBLISHED A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT WARNING THE JAPANESE AGAINST CONCLUDING A TREATY AND CRITICIZING THE CHINESE FOR TRYING TO RUIN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. THE EFFECT OF THE SOVIET STATEMENT WAS TO COOL THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND THE JAPANESE, END PUBLIC AIRING OF DIFFERENCES, AND LEAD BOTH TOKYO AND PEKING TO PRETEND, AT LEAST, THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE STILL CONTINUING. THEY ARE NOT, FOR THE MOMENT, AT LEAST.

2. MIKI IS CURRENTLY GROPING FOR ALTERED FORMULATION ACCEPTABLE TO PEKING WHICH WOULD PORTRAY HEGEMONY AS "UNIVERSAL PEACE PRINCIPLE" AIMED AT NO PARTICULAR THIRD COUNTRY. WHETHER PEKING WILL BUY THIS APPROACH REMAINS TO BE SEEN. INCLUSION OF THE CLAUSE IN THE TREATY SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME FOR THE CHINESE AS MUCH A TEST OF MIKI'S TRUSTWORTHINESS AND WILLINGNESS TO REAFFIRM THE TANAKA COMMITMENTS AS IT IS EVIDENCE THAT JAPAN OPPOSES SOVIET HEGEMONY. THE AGREEMENT JUST CONCLUDED TO REESTABLISH CIVIL AIR LINKS BETWEEN JAPAN AND TAIWAN IS LIKELY TO SOUR PEKING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MIKI STILL FURTHER. THE PRIME MINISTER, SENSITIVE TO POLITICAL OPPONENTS' CRITICISM OF HIS HANDLING OF RELATIONS WITH PRC, REMAINS ANXIOUS TO CONCLUDE A TREATY, AND WILL REPORTEDLY REFOCUS ON THE ISSUE AFTER HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN HOPES OF FINISHING NEGOTIATIONS IN TIME FOR RATIFICATION BY THE EXPECTED FALL SESSION OF THE DIET. IN OUR VIEW PROSPECTS FOR EARLY RESOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE ARE POOR UNLESS MIKI ADOPTS THE CHINESE POSITION WITH LITTLE QUALIFICATION. ANY ATTEMPT TO REVIVE TALKS UNDER THESE CONDITIONS WILL CAUSE RESUMPTION OF UNCOMFORTABLE PRESSURES FROM MOSCOW AND CONSERVATIVE QUARTERS OF THE LDP.

3. DESPITE THE TIME, EFFORT, AND VERBIAGE EXPENDED, THE "HEGEMONY" CONTROVERSY HAS HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON TOKYO'S DAY-TO-CONFIDENTIAL

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DAY RELATIONSHIPS WITH EITHER PEKING OR MOSCOW. BASIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PRC ARE REGULATED BY TECHNICAL AGREEMENTS ALREADY CONCLUDED ON SHIPPING, TRADE AND CIVIL AVIATION. A FOURTH AGREEMENT ON FISHERIES IS REPORTED NEAR COMPLETION. SINO-JAPANESE TRADE IS BOOMING AND SHOULD EXCEED LAST YEAR'S RECORD \$3.2 BILLION FIGURE BY A SIGNIFICANT MARGIN. MORE CULTURAL GROUPS, BUSINESS DELEGATIONS AND POLITICAL FIGURES TRAVEL TO THE PRC FROM JAPAN THAN FROM ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

4. POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW ARE STAGNANT. THE SOVIETS REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA WHEN HE VISITED IN JANUARY, AND THE JAPANESE HAVE REFUSED IN TURN TO CONSIDER A SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY THAT AVOIDS THE TERRITORIAL

ISSUE. FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IS COMMITTED TO A TOKYO VISIT THIS YEAR, BUT NO ONE SEEMS IN A HURRY TO SET A DATE. NEVERTHELESS, TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS RUNNING ALMOST 50 0/0 AHEAD OF LAST YEAR'S \$2.5 BILLION FIGURE. THE GIANT TYUMEN OIL PROJECT IN SIBERIA HAS BEEN SHELVED AND NEGOTIATIONS ON YAKUTSK NATURAL GAS EXPLOITATION HAVE SLOWED TO A CRAWL BECAUSE OF UNDERTAIN-TIES OVER US INVOLVEMENT. HOWEVER, A NON-GOVERNMENTAL GENERAL AGREEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT OF OIL AND GAS ON THE SAKHALIN CONTINENTAL SHELF WAS SIGNED IN LATE JANUARY. JAPANESE AND SOVIET NEGOTIATORS CONCLUDED AN AGREEMENT ON FISHERIES OPERATIONS IN JUNE WHICH HAS DEFUSED SOME POTENTIALLY WXPLOSIVE LOCAL FEELINGS IN JAPAN.  
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INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 EB-07 COME-00

TRSE-00 OMB-01 FEA-01 OFA-01 /095 W  
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R 110930Z JUL 75  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1530  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 9351

5. JAPANESE POSITION--IN WASHINGTON, MIKI WILL WANT TO HEAR US ESTIMATES OF THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S UPCOMING MEETINGS WITH BOTH CHINESE AND SOVIET LEADERS. HE MAY ALSO WANT TO PROBE AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE HEGEMONY ISSUE, WONDERING HOW WE PLAN TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF FUTURE ENDORSEMENTS OF ANTI-HEGEMONY PRINCIPLE IN APPROACHING MEETINGS WITH BOTH CHINESE AND SOVIETS. HE LIKE AND HAS QUOTED IN PUBLIC THE FORMULATION IN THE SECRETARY'S JAPAN SOCIETY SPEECH WHICH STATES OPPOSITION TO OTHER NATIONS IMPOSING THEIR WILLS ON OTHERS BUT AVOIDS USE OF LOADED WORD "HEGEMONY". MIKI MAY HOPE THAT US WILL KEEP ON USING THIS FORMULA, THEREBY EASING HIS OWN DILEMMA AND GIVING HIM SOME MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER WITH PEKING AND MOSCOW.

6. RECOMMENDED US POSITION--WE SHOULD SEEK OUT MIKI'S

ASSESSMENT OF JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE SOVIET  
UNION. IF HE BRNGS UP HEGEMONY PROBLEM, MIKI MIGHT BE TOLD  
THAT WE SHARE HIS VIEW THAT OPPOSTION TO HEGEMONY IS A  
GENERAL PRINCIPLE FOR THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS WHICH IS AIMED AT  
NO THIRD COUNTRY (LEAST OF ALLUS). SHOULD HE ASK HOW WE PLAN  
TO HANDLE QUESTION IN UPCOMING MEETINGS, WE MIGHT TELL HIM THAT  
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WAY WE WILL DEAL WITH PRINCIPLE WILL DEPENT ON CONTEXT  
OF OUR PAST HADLING OS SUBJECT WITH EACH OF THE TWO  
GOVERNMENTS.  
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